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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

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RUMBIMA HAMLET (by household)

Mangwiyow Lineage

1. Wof = Kaya = Chinuwa[11]
   Uka Mey Kum
2. Yowaka Yawa
3. Mar Gwiyap Kwiya Awa Fit
4. War = Bora = Kuma Kar = Difa = Yame Kis = Amba = Sunga[12]
   Mano Haya Ham Suw Toka
5. Yat = Kafa = Gege
   Gwamp Njan
6. Way = Mbwimbwi
   Famba Gwanta Merik Kadowan
7. Marok = Dawi Uka
   Afi

Wasahof Lineage

8. Waramus = Nawa
   (ha) Mes = Yimba Aya Kwos
9. Afok = Kumwe
   Kawaf
10. Fokotay = Ngwiya
    Hambo
11. Daw = Huwena
    Kayamaka Yawaka
12. Kwai = Gufo
    Angandim Angeyamar
13. Rumbima house tamberan
14. Houses of investigators
    (14a and b) Servants' quarters

[11] = denotes marriage, i.e., Kaya and Chinuwa are the two wives of Wof. Children are on the second line in each household, i.e., Uka, Mey, and Kum are Wof's children.

[12] War, Kar, and Kis are brothers. The children are those of War.

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

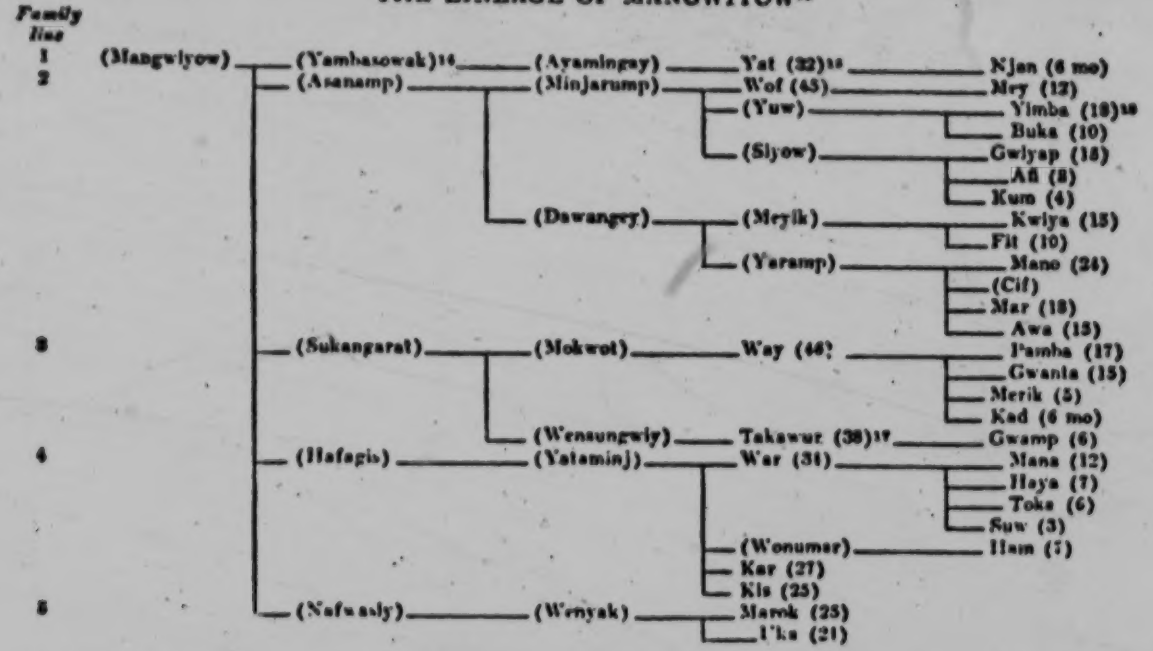
Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwei*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama;* young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwei*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

THE LINEAGE OF MANGWIYOW[15]



[15] Parentheses indicate that a person is dead. Numbers show approximate age. Female names are distinguished from male by vowel endings, a device for the reader's convenience, not a characteristic of Kwoma culture.

[16] The *brothers* in this generation are arranged from top to bottom in order of seniority, i.e., any man calls a *brother* above him in the list *older sibling;* he calls a *brother* below him in the list *younger sibling.*

[17] The shortened form of the names of living persons who appear frequently in the text has been used rather than the longer form. Thus the long form of Yat is Yatominj, of Wof is Wofarage, of Mey is Meyamukw. The shortened form is used by the Kwoma in intimate address or reference.

[18] Females of lineage still living in hamlet are included in this table.

[17] Does not live in the hamlet.

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for sev-
765 eral months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a sec-
[534] ond funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a
[535] feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 621 361 614 613 773 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the one from which we gathered most of our information, is called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and hence belong to the *Hagamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 613 592 [114] [595] [587] Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's
[754] son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

621 592 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[305] [177] [13] [19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister U'ka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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[621] dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two
[592] wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in
[156] the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By
[584] Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of
[595] approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son.
[586] Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the house-
hold. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young
[464] man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the
[191] gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin
[595] English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

[156] Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year
[830] or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who
[464] has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has
[727] also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one
[595] son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

[156] Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household
[754] 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and
[736] Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his
[684] nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

[165] About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who
[754] is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

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[591] a niece of Wof.[22] Mes has started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There are no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Rumbima.

[361] A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house is the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a [156] quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He is married to a woman named Gufo and they have two boys, Angandim, a young child, and Angemar, an infant. Kwal's older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lives in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Huwena, and two girl [613] children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprise the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

Two brothers head the third and final line of the lineage of Wasahof. They live together a little farther down the [156] path which passes by the last two households described. Fokotay (household 10, family line 6), the elder, is a jovial but rather ineffectual man of forty. He is married to Ngwiya, and has only one child, a little girl called Hambo. Afok (household 9, family line 6), a few years younger than Fokotay, has a keen sense of humor and is somewhat more [191] forceful than his older brother. Except for those who have worked for Europeans, Afok is the only adult who has made any attempt to learn pidgin. Although he has learned only a little, he seems to get considerable pleasure from the attempt. He lives with his wife Kumwe and their infant son Kawaf. Yawa, Mar's betrothed (household 3), is also a descendant of this line, her deceased father being a brother of Fokotay and Afok.

621
613 The Wasahof lineage thus numbers only fifteen living persons.[23] Six wives swell the group to twenty-one. The Mangwiyow lineage has thirty members and thirteen wives. This makes a total of sixty-four persons living in Rumbima ham[124] let. Persons from the other five hamlets were interviewed primarily to check information gathered at Rumbima. The Mangwiyow lineage provided more material than did the Wasahof lineage, both because it was larger and because we

[22] A theoretically incestuous marriage.

[23] This does not include the women who have married and left the hamlet.

KUSHIMA HAMLET (by household)

621 Mangwiyow Lineage
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1. Wof = Kaya = Chimawa[2]
   Buka May Kum

2. Youska Yawa

3. Mar Gwiyap Kwiya Awa Pit

4. War = Bora = Kuma Kar = Di.a = Yama Kis = Amba = Sunga[3]
   Mano Naya Naa Saw Toka

5. Yat = Kafa = Gaga
   Gwamp Njan

6. Way = Mawimbwi
   Yamba Gwanta Marik Kadowaa

7. Marok = Dawi Uka
   Afi

Wasahof Lineage

8. Waramwa = Mawa
   (8a) Mas = Yimba Aya Kwoa

9. Afok = Kamwa
   Kawaf

10. Yokotay = Ngwiya
    Kambo

11. Daw = Mawana
    Kayamaka Youska

12. Kwal = Gufo
    Angandin Angayamar

13. Rumbima house tamberan

14. Houses of investigators
    (14a and b) Servants' quarters (Kamb and Wisap)

[2] = denotes marriage, i.e., Kaya and Chimawa are the two wives of Wof. Children are on the second line in each household, i.e., Buka, May, and Kum are Wof's children. Names ending in a vowel refer to females, those ending in a consonant to males. This is an arbitrary distinction made for the reader's convenience.

614 The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. The three sibs of Hongwem subtribe are the Wanyi, who descended from a pig; the Hayemakwo, who descended from a great fish hawk; and the Tug, who descended from the sago palm. The men of Rumbime hamlet where we lived, claim descent [613] from the giant fish hawk, and hence belong to the Hayemakwo sib. They divide themselves into two lineages; the larger claiming descent from the culture hero, Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 Mangwiyow reputedly had five sons, each of whom sired a family line.
592 Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendents of the five
361 brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us
[613] was named Wof (household 1, family line 2). He dwelt a few yards from our
[114] hut with his first wife Enya, his levirate wife Chimawa, his adopted son Hay (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a neice), and his stepson Kum (Chimawa's son by her former husband). Wof was a man of about forty-five whose skin is grey and scaly from time. He had the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

Adjacent to Wof's house, the rather dilapidated dwelling of Yowaka stood (household 2). She was an old woman who could not walk because of a great sore on her leg but who made up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She was the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). Living with her was Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster, was a tall gangling youth who had not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He showed marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appeared unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him lived his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children--

[i.e. Herd Analyst]

621 Eviya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an
592 adolescent nephew of Wof's. Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, was a lad
361 just past puberty, not yet fully grown, but extremely intelligent, very active and had learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him lived his wife Dewi, his married sister Uka, and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok was in his middle twenties, the only male of his age group in the hamlet who had not left for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he was also the only one who spoke no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). Mar, the oldest, a man in his thirties, was a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He had the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer, dancer, and a man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Kuma he had three children: Mana, and Eiya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Kam, a nephew, about seven years old, also lived in the household. Ker, the next younger brother, an intelligent young man in his middle twenties, had just returned from working in the gold fields prior to our arrival and spoke pidgin English fluently. He had two wives, Difa and Yama, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Ker, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and spoke pidgin English. He also had two wives, Bunga and Ambe, but no children.

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Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by Wer, Ker, and Kis, stood that owned by Yet (household 3, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Ker. He was the only man in the hamlet who had learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and had also taken a head. He had two wives, Kafe and Gogo, and one son, Hjan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There were no other members of Yet's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yet's dwelling was one owned by Wey (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who had some reputation as a sorcerer. With him lived his wife Mwiabwi, his two adolescent daughters, Fambe and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Marik, just weaned, and Kadewan, a few months old. Wey also had taken care of his nephew, Gramp, ever since the latter's father, Takwur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape Wer's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Wey's house was the dwelling of Waramma (household 8, family line 7), whom about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He was slightly cross-eyed and had a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him lived his wife Mawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mas, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Mwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who was the wife of Mas and a niece of Wof. * Mas had started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There were no other members of Waramma' line dwelling at Kambim.

A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house was the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. Kwal was married to a woman named Cafe, and they had two boys, Angwadin, a young child, and Angwaar, an infant. Kwal's

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* A theoretically incestuous marriage.

621 592 361 older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lived in the adjacent house with his stropping wife Hawena, and two girl children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprised the second line of the Waashof lineage.

142 for their faces are drawn and their mouths turn down at the corners. The Waskuk on the other hand are big women. Their stomachs protrude before and their butts behind. Their bosoms are full to overflowing, and their round faces are usually split by an ear-to-ear grin. In skin colour they are noticeably lighter than the Yambons. Only one or two old women are present."

342 Yesterday afternoon (Nov. 12), I went down to Mar's house. It is a structure about eight feet high at the ridgepole with a fairly gentle slope to the roof which ends about two feet above the ground. The side walls and the back and front are made of sago bark sewed together. When dried, the bark is about the thickness and consistency of beaver board. About two thirds of the house is closed off by another wall of sago bark with only a small doorway about two by four feet, with the sill about a foot and a
353 half from the ground. This can be closed by a sago bark door. This door
342 is the only opening in the inner room, which is used for sleeping , storing their clay pots, their cooked sago, and their net bags. The latter are hung with a half coconut shell on the roof so the rats cannot get at them.
[892] In this room sleep Mar, his mother, his classificatory sister and two boys
[513] who are his classificatory brothers. They sleep with only a slab of sago bark between them and the ground. The beds are leaned up against the wall during the day. All of them sleep with their feet toward the door. Interestingly enough, Mar's wife sleeps in another house.

The third of the house not inclosed by this room acts as a sort of
[354] porch. Here a huge pot about two and a half feet in diameter and two feet
[262] high was braced up by stones over a fire and a sort of blood red soup made
[415] of a kind of bark and sago was bubbling. One of the boys dished out a half
[412] coconut full of this and ate it with a trade spoon. I noticed some spears
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619 The Kwoma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups,
[192] Tangwishamp, Urambanj, Koriasi, Hongwam, and Yelagu. Although there is
[197] no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is carried on between them, the language and culture are identical in the
[197] first four of these. Yelagu language has a distinct but overlapping vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade
[438] with one another despite the headhunting.

614 Hongwam is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi,
619 who were the first comers, the Hayamakwo second, and the Tug who came most
[173] recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals, fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the
[582] other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage which is determined by membership in the korump, or house tamberan group.

614 Wanyi had two functioning house tamberans, Hayamakwo one, and Tug
619 three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogamous
621 units too small to build a house tamberan of their own. These latter groups are the result of a split in the korump from internal friction, of the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated by a headhunting raid.

621 The korump is divided into little clusters of houses in which close
602 relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household
592 itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried
736 children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his deceased brothers whom he is caring for.